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The Federation of the World

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THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD

BY
WALTER J. BARTNETT

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

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The Federation of the World

The federation of the world—a conception so grandiose as probably to seem chimerical to one who has not observed the signs of the times, seems nevertheless to be slowly but surely taking form and substance.

Far in the past, on the minds of the world-conquerors, shone the ideal of a world united. In the present, on many a mind is shining this great ideal; but now has the dreamt-of tyranny of the past been glorified into the idea of a union of the nations in a voluntary federation.

Like the growth of a tree from a seed, the growth of the modern ideal has been of an inevitable and fateful character; and in its present stage a discerning eye can perceive the outlines of the grand consummation.

Immediately preceding the more definite conception of a world-federation are to be seen a number of nourishing factors—each adding its quota, its energy; as, for example, the application of steam to navigation and to land transportation, the extension of telegraph and telephone, the industrial inventions which have rendered each country dependent on others for vast quantities of supplies, the practice of international loaning of money, the growth of international brotherhoods, the readier and cheaper production of books, the growth of the press, the increase of general education, together with the potent humanizing activities of the great Republic of Letters, and the consequent partial eradication of national prejudices; each of these bringing material benefit and inculcating ideas of interdependence and mutual help on a national scale.

Let us consider now that which corresponds to the sapling—the young form which, out of the darkness and groping

of the life in the soil, has risen to view and, though but partly developed, foreshadows the coming tree.

It is commonly accepted that the welfare and prosperity of mankind depend more upon agriculture than upon any other industry. Statistics from all lands on the production and consumption of agricultural products, intelligently disseminated, must affect the destinies of millions of people. Official and reliable data concerning the results obtained by such men as Luther Burbank, and miscellaneous information such as that gathered by organizations like the United States Department of Agriculture, if spread throughout the world freely for the benefit of all who are interested, cannot but profoundly influence for the better the agriculture of the world and consequently improve the condition of the people. If the advance made by our farmers in wheat-growing during the past ten years could be intelligently presented to the peasants of Russia, much of the agrarian trouble of that country would be remedied. If the information that the California fruit-growers possess could be transmitted to the agriculturists in Siberia, fruit-growing would in a decade be one of the great industries of a large portion of that territory. On the other hand, could the agriculturists of our country receive accurate information freely and readily concerning the products of field and orchard and vineyard of the remainder of the world, our advance in these matters must proceed apace. The food supply of hundreds of millions of people is now being brought from far-distant points; to cheapen the marketing and insure the purity of this food must necessarily enhance the well-being of those who depend upon it. Reliable information as to crops and as to agricultural products in storage and in transit the world over, will tend to promote a better adjustment of supply to demand, promptly and sometimes with incalculable benefit to millions of people, as in cases of threatened famine.

The United States of America spends millions per annum in securing information of this character pertaining to its own territory, but the benefits derived are but partial, owing to the lack of accurate statistics concerning other countries.

The inference from all this is: that the welfare of the world is to a considerable degree suffering from a want of

co-operation of the nations in this very vital department of human activity; and that it would be to the advantage of all were the governments of the world to come to an agreement on this subject—an agreement best embodied in a permanent form, perhaps, by the establishment of an international board of competent delegates from each nation, whose duty it should be to promote the advancement of all forms of agriculture throughout the world irrespective of nationality or of personal interests.

To one man belongs the honor of perceiving this clearly and of bringing it about—Mr. David Lubin, of California. Through his efforts was the King of Italy converted to his views. Thereupon under the leadership of the King was inaugurated a movement of such strength that finally forty-two nations assented to the plan of co-operation proposed; and but a short time ago the Senate of the United States ratified a protocol committing our country to its support. Thus has been born the International Institute of Agriculture, to be supported by funds from the treasuries of nearly all nations—the first voluntary world-movement of all-embracing import.

So interrelated are human affairs that, having been firmly established and begun its work, this institute will gradually enlarge its scope and more and more firmly cement the common interests of mankind throughout the world. And so potent is suggestion and so fecund are fundamental ideas, that from this new organization and that older one, the International Postal Union, which has accomplished so much for the intercommunication of the peoples of the world, will spring others of their sort.

The movements which are embodied in the Interparliamentary Union and the American Society of International Law are directed toward the codification of international law and the firm establishment of principles that will be recognized by the courts of every land. During the Russo-Japanese trouble the peoples of many lands were concerned with the question as to what articles were contraband. The principles of international law as interpreted by various writers were not uniform, the result being that merchants were at a loss as to what course of action to follow. This is

an example of many that might be presented wherein great benefits will flow from the coming together of all nations in an institution that will reduce these matters to order and uniformity; the principles finally settled upon, to become active by being incorporated in the various international treaties.

In connection with the establishment of the International Institute of Agriculture and the formulation of definite laws operative between the nations in peace and in war, there may well be considered the establishment of a permanent body of delegates to regulate matters of international commerce, thus providing for greater commercial freedom, minimizing the risks of commerce, and affording greater legal protection and personal security to the people that engage in commerce. Through the power of the Federal Government to regulate interstate commerce, the United States of America has been able to correct some of the greater abuses that flow from the selfishness of man; for instance, that of the sale of impure foods, and that of the lack of sanitation of packing establishments. Such matters could be regulated on a world-wide scale by an International Commerce Commission.

In relation to the foregoing, and matters for consideration by such a commission, are the following:—

1. The adoption of a uniform standard of exchange throughout the world. We all know the great benefits that have resulted from the adoption by many nations of the gold standard. Yet the adoption of this standard is but a part of the great work that must be done to render stable the commerce of the nations. When all have adopted the gold standard—as they doubtless will—a second step will be required, namely,—

2. The adoption of a common system of exchange, or money which will be good the world over. There is no reason why a system of exchange cannot be devised that will be a common measure of value in all civilized lands.

3. The establishment of a common standard of weights and measures. The good this will accomplish is obvious. The use of the metric system is gradually being extended;

in another decade it will probably have become practically universal.

4. The introduction of a universal language. Such a language, of scientific construction and capable of easy expansion concurrent with growing needs of nomenclature due to new inventions and scientific discoveries,—a language which shall, along with the mother-tongue, be taught in the schools of all nations,—would be an important factor in the promotion of international understanding and popular benefit.

Through all these things will the peoples of the earth be brought into closer and closer commercial relations. Commerce will be greatly increased. In many ways will the material welfare of all be advanced. Through the masses of the populations will be diffused a greater and greater knowledge; and the consequent better understanding of one another will result in a further gain—a gain inexpressible in terms of commerce.

The question may now be asked: What is to be the effect of these movements upon the destiny of nations?

Let us try to answer this.

First: The true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes. This function applies most particularly to the care of the proletariat. To advance the masses morally and intellectually it is essential to advance them first in a material way: it is requisite to supply them with work and increase their productive capacity—their power of acquiring for themselves from soil and mine and factory and trade a greater income and thus a better environment and more leisure. For example, the people of Russia must be taught how to utilize the energy of their vast water-power, as the people of the State of New York use that of Niagara and the Californians that of the streams of the Sierra Nevada. The workers of the world who are following primitive methods must be shown how to more fully develop the energies of soil and mine and stream through modern methods. Thus will be aroused in them renewed and more intelligent industry, with greater scope for the employment of their minds: this, seemingly slow

though it may be, will inevitably result in intellectual, moral, spiritual, and political progress. This awakening of the higher nature in the masses will gradually be brought about by the interworking of many factors, notably through free and compulsory education, but chiefly perhaps through the wide diffusion by the individual governments of knowledge appealing to the immediate self-interest of men, enabling them to earn more with a given amount of labor,—knowledge derived from the general information and the statistics published by such international institutes as we have spoken of.

Secondly: The greater enlightenment of the people of all lands means ultimately the greater stability of government. As the people become more enlightened, they will have an ever-growing voice in government. As this proceeds, they will demand—and some are beginning to demand it now—freedom from the burden of taxation for the purpose of maintaining the immense standing armies and the great navies. In Italy the income tax alone is 14 per cent of incomes, and the total tax in some sections of that country amounts to 30 per cent of the gross earnings of the people. Already in Italy there is a movement of great proportions opposing the voting of further sums for army and navy. The masses of Hungary are thinking the same way, as also are a large party in France and a considerable party in Germany. The prosperity of Canada and Australia has tended to broaden the minds of the masses of England in respect to taxation: perhaps it was partly in consequence of this that the voters of England in the last election more forcibly than ever before expressed themselves in opposition to the expenditure of large sums of money for the maintenance of the army.

In this connection the Russian nation is a particularly interesting subject. The peasants of Russia are thinking potentially. The Douma, temporarily discountenanced, will probably become within a decade a power little dreamed of today by many of the statesmen of Europe. Russia is the one country in Europe that can be called the United States of Europe. The most despotic of governments, she nevertheless is thinking today the thoughts of America and study-

ing American institutions, and in the next twenty years will have enforced many of the distinctively American ideas. Like the United States, she is composed of many races. The Russian territories contain a population of 140,000,000 people, divided into 111 races. During the past thirty years the government has been preparing for the formation of the most democratic state in all Europe: unconsciously it has been laying the foundations of a great constitutional monarchy with power vested in the people. This has been partly accomplished through the intercommunication between remote portions of the Empire provided by the construction of one of the greatest railroad systems in the world. The government now owns about 30,000 miles of railroads, valued at more than \$1,500,000,000. When the history of the past century is written, the construction of the great Siberian Railroad must be recorded as one of the most potent civilizing factors of the century. Along the line of that railroad millions of peasants will settle in the next twenty years. Emigration from European Russia into the Siberian territory will be rapid. Russia now has her outlet on the Pacific. She contemplates building a new railroad to run from Lake Baikal through Chinese territory to Peking and the port of Tientsin. This road will open to the people of Siberia, for their agricultural products and their timber, the great markets of China; and the construction of the Panama Canal will give to this vast country a world-market. When it is remembered that Siberia is as large as the United States, that it is situated mostly in the temperate zone, that it is fertile, and that in great part the climate resembles that of the State of Illinois, one can readily understand that here the Russian peasant will rapidly advance materially and commercially, and that the form of government he will ultimately have, will be a liberal one modeled in all probability after that of the United States.

It is the destiny of the United States to extend a friendly hand to the civilization that will develop in the Russian territory bordering on the shores of the Pacific. With the friendly aid of the United States, the great markets that will open up for the products of field and forest and mine and factory of all Russia, the gradual enlightenment of the farmers and operatives of all classes in the way of improved

methods learned through the agency of the international institutes, the whole population of the Empire will come in time to have the same incentives to general progress that the people of the United States have; they will see their opportunities in the lands they already possess, will endeavor to develop them to the utmost, and, like the peoples of other countries, will mightily oppose through their representatives in the Douma the maintenance of a great standing army.

As a general proposition we may say that the principle of the government of the people by the people for the people, is becoming universal, and that when the peoples of the European countries finally express themselves fully, it will be first and foremost in the way of refusing to pay taxes for the maintenance of great armies and navies. This will probably occur within the next twenty years; it will be a bloodless revolution; and its effect will be most beneficial and far-reaching, as the following considerations will indicate:—

The expenditures by the nations of Europe for military and naval purposes aggregate probably more than \$1,500,000,000 per year. In the standing armies and the navies of these nations there are now about 4,000,000 men. This vast number of men constitutes just so much energy directed to other than productive ends. What it costs to maintain these men represents, on the one hand, money derived from governmental revenues other than taxes, which money might be used by the government for the public benefit; and on the other hand, money derived from taxes, which money, retained by the tax-payers, would better their condition.

Were European states to disarm as against one another and retain armies and navies for policing only, there would probably be released say three-quarters of these 4,000,000 men, or 3,000,000 men in good physical condition, among them a considerable number of very intelligent minds. Assuming that one-tenth of these would emigrate to the New World, we have left 2,700,000 to engage in productive work in European countries. Of these about 135,000 would be officers, men of trained minds. Assuming that these 2,700,000 men would, on an average, earn \$400 per year apiece,

this would mean an increase of over \$1,000,000,000 per year in wages alone. It is likely, too, that the great majority of these men would work for others and receive wages considerably lower than the value they produce.

And further: We should have that part of the governmental revenues other than taxes, and that part of the incomes of civilians expended by them as taxes, at present devoted to the maintenance of these men and the equipment, fortifications, men-of-war, etc., corresponding to them—re-distributed and turned into more beneficial channels. The money thus set free to be applied to public improvements, and that now expended by civilians as taxes, but in the event of disarmament restored to them, would amount in round numbers to, say, \$1,000,000,000.

We should therefore have to the credit of European nations, as the result of disarmament, a yearly increment of wealth which we may conservatively estimate at \$1,000,000,000, and a yearly addition to public improvements and personal comfort and well-being represented by the amount of \$1,000,000,000,—a total betterment of \$2,000,000,000!

While the foregoing figures cannot in any case be considered exact, they nevertheless are so nearly so as to indicate the magnitude of the benefit that would result from disarmament.

In addition to the above, the following words from Mr. Vivian of the British House of Commons are to the point:—"War expenditure lessens the national and commercial credit, intensifies the unemployed problem, reduces the resources available for social reform, and presses with exceptional severity upon the industrial classes."

And the following from an editorial in "The Japan Weekly Chronicle" (Kobe):—"War" (and the writer might have added—a constant readiness for war) "creates an incubus of debt which lies as a permanent dead weight upon a country's life and enterprise—which militates against those works of public utility absolutely necessary for the national progress, and necessarily imposes a burden of taxation which is felt by every class."

The following also is pertinent:—In 1905 England spent on her army and navy an amount exceeding \$300,000,000,

whereas in the same year she appropriated to Education, Science and Art only \$79,000,000. These figures need no comment.

As reason, or the great common-sense of mankind, is bound to triumph in the end, we may predict with confidence that—now that the movement has been started—the benefits that so obviously will accrue from the cessation of international wars, will eventually and perhaps in but a few years appeal with so compelling a force to the peoples of Europe that the governments will finally heed their voice and gradually disarm. In this it is likely that the weaker nations will lead. Italy—ever one of the first nations to advance new movements—will vote to disarm, retaining but a moderate standing army and a small navy. France will follow. The people of England will presently refuse to appropriate money for extensions of the military or the navy; this the precursor of disarmament, which will follow in time. Even the people of Germany, headed as they are by the ambitious Kaiser, who is the sole force of any magnitude opposing the peace-idea, will in the course of a few years bring about reforms in the interests of reason and general well-being.

The nations having partly disarmed, due to the enlightenment of the people and their greater voice in the government, the appeal to arms in cases of international friction will indubitably become less potent than the appeal to peace through arbitration—with the consequent maintenance of commercial and governmental stability.

Therefore—repeating our propositions: first, that the true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes; and secondly, that the greater enlightenment of the people of all lands means ultimately the greater stability of government; and setting beside these propositions the fact that the principle of the government of the people by the people for the people is becoming universal, and the fact that the nations are beginning to realize the self-interest that lies in co-operation—we have a warrant unimpeachable for the faith that is in us; namely, that in the course of but a few years we shall see the shaping of a true

world-movement—for Japan and China, the United States of America, and the rest of the civilized world will join with the nations of Europe—toward the effectuation of an international understanding embodied in a permanent institution of universal scope.

We have now considered those things that correspond to the hidden, unconscious forces which precede the appearance of the tree above ground, and we have considered the things which correspond to the early growth and gradual shaping of the tree: let us now consider that which corresponds to the tree itself, developed.

In this permanent institution in which all nations will join, the full characteristics of the world-federation will begin to show forth—hesitatingly at first, for it will be subjected to storms of criticism, blights of self-interest, heats of prejudice; but, even so, it will grow the hardier, and more deeply will it send its roots down into the heart of humanity and to greater purpose will it raise aloft its noble presence in the pure air of altruism, of universal benefit and goodwill.

This permanent institution, this parliament of widest scope, which is to embody the international understanding, will from its very nature eventually include within its purview the more specialized international institutes. The details of its development we can hardly foretell with definiteness, but we may say with some confidence that the earliest action taken by the great nations of the world will probably be the signing of a protocol whereby they will cede to the jurisdiction of the parliament a certain armament, a certain number of ships and sailors and soldiers, for the purpose of executing the decrees of the tribunal; thus enabling all the nations with safety to disarm as against one another, retaining only such armies and navies as they may need for policing purposes. The protocol will develop into a constitution providing for executive, judicial and legislative departments, and embodying articles which in time all nations will ratify. And upon this must inevitably follow the arbitration of international disputes, the cessation of international war.

Strange is it to contemplate—and we see in it the working of the Reason which rules the world—that to the head of the most despotic of the great nations and to a representative of the most democratic belongs the credit of first practically urging the idea of the promotion of a peace universal: to the Czar Nicholas and to Andrew Carnegie is the world indebted for the preliminary shaping of this grand conception.

Mr. Carnegie has given much thought to this subject. Several years ago he pointed out the great benefits that must result from the organization of the nations into "The United States of the World." His interest in the American Society of International Law and in the peace conferences, and his construction at The Hague of the Temple of Peace, where will be housed the International Board of Arbitration and also, we hope, the International Institute of Agriculture and all other international institutes, for we believe that in this case the sooner will be effected the union of all in a true International Parliament—all this on the part of Mr. Carnegie will contribute much to the success of this great movement which has for its object the preservation of peace and the increased well-being of the peoples of all lands.

It is greatly to be desired that the International Institute of Agriculture be permanently housed at The Hague. The presence there of the representatives of that institute, working together to better the economic conditions of their respective countries, would be a factor of great potency in advancing the cause of the International Board of Arbitration and universal peace. **The Temple of Peace should be selected as the home for all the world-movements.**

With the federation of the nations under a constitution ratified by all; with the devotion of human energies in this way to the material, intellectual, and moral welfare of humanity; with the growth of tolerance through knowledge; with the perception which is bound to arise, of the interrelation of all mankind and of the fact that the happiness and prosperity of other peoples contribute to our own prosperity and happiness;—with all this we have the fullness of growth which corresponds to the developed and firmly

planted tree,—a tree, indeed, whose trunk is humanity itself, whose greater limbs are the greater nations and whose smaller limbs are the smaller nations, whose roots are the roots of humanity in the Source of All, whose sap is the Spirit of Life.

Inevitable, fateful, not to be stayed in its growth—obviously a part of the Divine Plan—proceeds this great idea. Let the mothers and the teachers of all lands aid in its progress. To spread this gospel is a work of sublime importance. Men and women are needed for this, and men and women are needed in whom to embody the delegated powers of the nations. In every nation is one person best fitted to serve as its representative. At the present we are singularly favored—we Americans: our most efficient person is known to us. I refer to our President, Theodore Roosevelt.

Already has President Roosevelt achieved for himself a permanent place in history. The great services he has, even so far, rendered the cause of international arbitration and of the world's peace, have determined that. His timely and insistent mediation in the Russo-Japanese war resulted in bringing to a conclusion and to a satisfactory settlement one of the most costly and bloody conflicts in the history of civilization. His work, together with that of President McKinley and John Hay, prevented the partition of China; and during his administration the United States has taken its place among the great world-powers. Besides this, the tendency of his mind and scope of his thought are plainly evinced in this recent sending of Mr. Root on his mission to our sister nations in South America—a mission which will not only assure them of our cordiality and good will, but will tend to bring them into closer relations with one another and ameliorate greatly the industrial, commercial and other conditions prevailing among them, by leading them to the principle of resorting in cases of misunderstanding, not to arms, but to arbitration, thus to a considerable extent directing them into line with the great world-movements.

When Mr. Roosevelt shall have completed his work as Chief Executive, what better cause can he serve than that of the active promotion of universal peace? Our country

urgently needs as its representative in the conferences at The Hague a man such as he. It should appoint him, and should empower him unstintedly to act with his confreres from the other great nations in formulating a plan for international arbitration and federation. He has proved his worth and his capacity. He would attain the end he set out to attain. We hope—nay, we urge, that when the time is opportune, the United States of America constitute him its Permanent Delegate to the International Board of Arbitration, the first Parliament of the Federation of the World.

How better conclude than with the vision of a poet whose insights the world is hastening to verify and confirm to the full? Looking from the past to the future, he noted the progress of humanity from the reign of physical force and compulsion—the day of the brute in man—and saw it culminate in the regnancy of moral suasion and justice—the day of true manhood, when:

“— the war-drum throb'd no longer and the
battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the
world.”

And going farther—searching to the heart of things with the eye of insight—he prophesies the next step, the elimination of internal, that is, industrial or insurrectionary, strife under the sway of Reason,—the outcome of it all, when:

“— the common sense of most shall hold a fretful
realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in uni-
versal law.”

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